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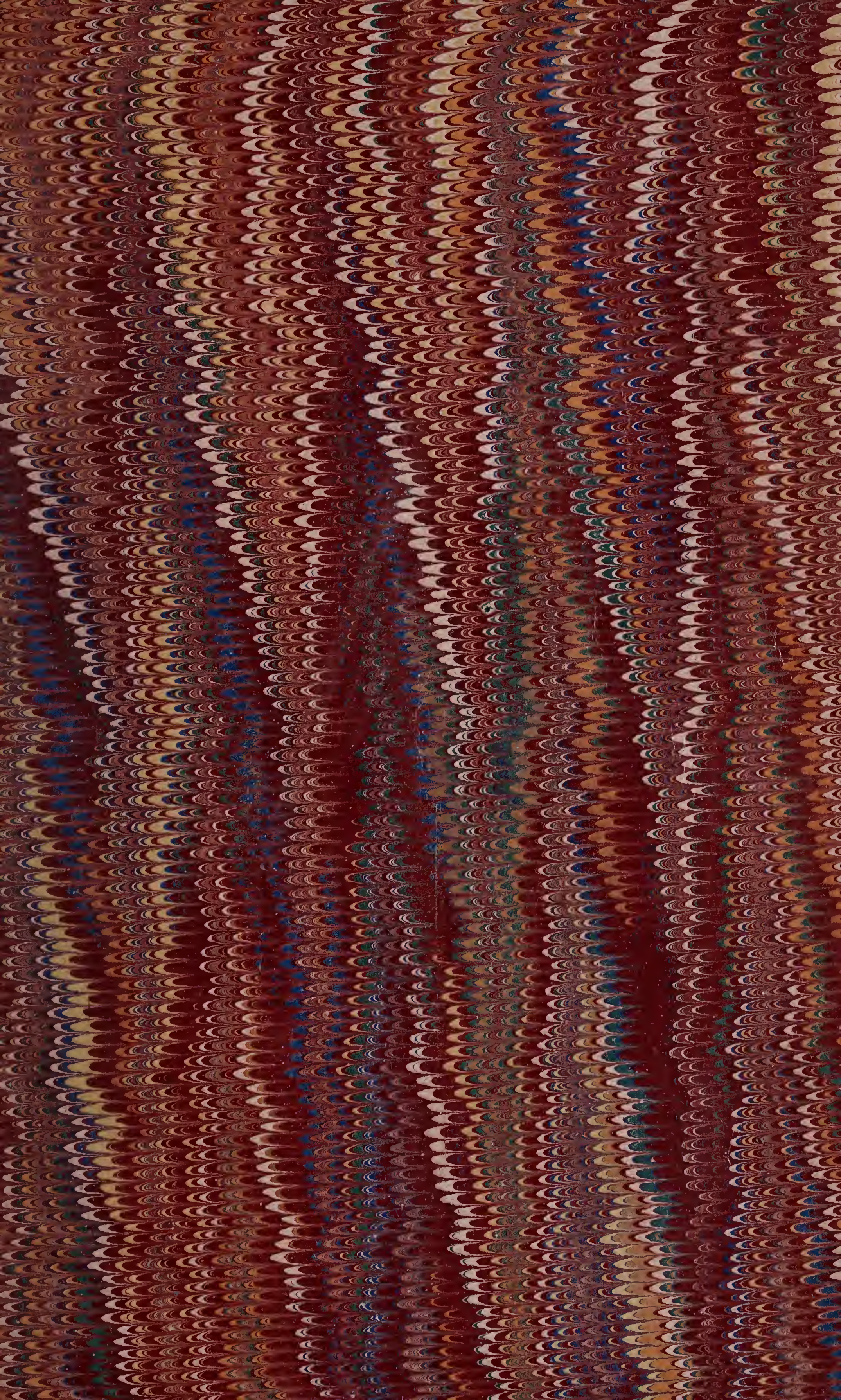
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ADDRESS TO THE HAWAIIAN PEOPLE!

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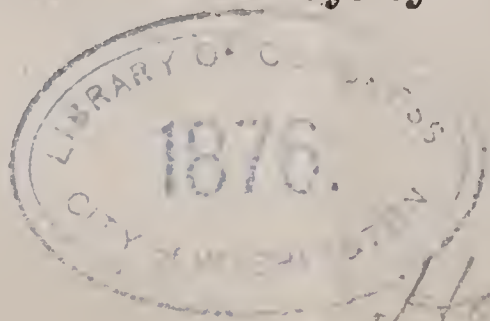
(In English and Hawaiian.)

Mrs. Murray Gibson

I the undersigned, who have heretofore addressed you many times on public affairs, through the columns of the Nuhou, and other mediums of communication, think this present election period a proper occasion for venturing upon a word or two of advice and suggestion. But I hasten to say at the outset of my remarks, that I am not a candidate for election as a representative of the people in the next Legislature; and you will readily believe me when I say, that I have no occasion to seek or care for the emolument of office, whilst the island of Lanai affords me very bountifully the means of competence and independence. I speak therefore from the promptings of a sense of patriotism and as a lover of Hawaii.

1. I regret to say that I hear mention made among you of an "Emma Party;" as if the question of the election of a Sovereign of these islands was still an open one, and was not irrevocably settled. I now say to you most emphatically that the persons who pretend to form such a so-called party, and who advise any disloyalty to the reigning Sovereign, are fomenting a most foolish and dangerous discussion;—one that is most hurtful to the peace and credit of the country, and injurious to the reputation of the illustrious person, whose name is no doubt wrongfully assumed as a party denomination. Listen not O, Hawaiians! to such wicked and dangerous, though stupid advisers, who set up pretensions as an "Emma Party."

When Kamehameha V. died, without naming a successor, it was perhaps a misfortune for you Hawaiian People, who had been nurtured in traditions of reverence for a Sovereign Chief, to be called upon to elect a successor to the Throne; but this only remained to be done in accordance with the provisions of law. I then joined with Hawaiian Electors, and I can claim with a few others to have wielded an important influence in the organization of the popular feeling, which led to the election of King Lunalilo. And again at the demise of the chosen Chief, I took a lead, as you well know, in organizing public sentiment towards the election of His Majesty on the Throne; and



in so doing, I opposed the candidacy of a most distinguished high Chiefess, whom I, as well as you revered as the most illustrious Lady of the land. Therefore, in view of the part I have taken, I may be permitted to speak now, and to advise you Hawaiians on the subject of loyalty to the Sovereign. I desire to say to you, that not only is it in accordance with the sanctions of law, your bounden duty to sustain loyally the choice of your representatives ; but that it is more especially your highest interest to cultivate and cherish a sentiment of love towards the recognized Head of your Nation ; and to unite as one man to guard his person and uphold his authority ; by so doing you will establish a name for good sense and patriotism which will be a guarantee for the highest prosperity ; because when you respect your own laws, and your lawfully, chosen Sovereign, you win the respect of powerful nations able to assist you, and the confidence of men of capital who will come here to invest their fortune. Athens, the most distinguished state of ancient times, and not comprising within her limit more people than even poor Hawaii, is said by the great thinker Schlegel, to owe her pre-eminence to the intelligent and unanimous loyalty of her people in support of her lawfully chosen leaders. And so, Hawaii, united by love and loyalty will be like an unassailable column of iron, being sustained by the generous sentiment of the civilized world, but if divided by factious disloyalty, she will be but a rope of sand, ready at any moment to be broken and destroyed.

3. You are advised by some people to disregard a treaty of reciprocity, negotiated with the Government of the United States of America. This treaty is virtually a law of our land, and only held in abeyance, or withheld from promulgation, on account of having to await a conclusive action on the part of one of the contracting powers. Therefore the advice to disregard what your Legislature has enacted is most foolish and mischievous.

You Hawaiians will all remember, when it was proposed during the reign of King Lunalilo to cede Pearl Harbor, as an inducement for the United States to grant us a treaty of reciprocity, that I then opposed the contemplated cession, as not only unpatriotic but unstatesmanlike. I then contended, as I now contend, that America ought not to be offered a bonus to induce her to join with us in reciprocal commercial relations, as she regards our little state as a political foster child, and claims this archipelago as situated within the scope of her continental policy. That Pearl Harbor scheme was justly defeated and abandoned, and a new treaty for reciprocity was brought forward and ratified by your Legislature. This treaty pro-

poses an exchange of products with a mutual remission of duties without any concession of territory, and is without the serious objections that were urged against the former defeated treaty. It is true that a clause has been admitted into the treaty now pending, which discriminates against other foreign states besides America, with whom we have treaties, and one to which I would have objected at the time of negotiation; yet if this discrimination awakens no discussion on the part of such powers, you Hawaiians have no business to raise any question, and you ought and you must sustain in good faith the present treaty of reciprocity entered into by your King and his negotiators, and ratified by your Legislature.

But I agree with the objectors to the treaty in one particular, that we should have no increase of the burthen of taxation, in order to carry out its provisions. I oppose any additional tax on account of the treaty, because we ought to meet any deficiency in revenue, which its operation may occasion by retrenchment. If the treaty should cause a loss in the revenue of even \$100,000 we should endeavor to meet the loss by a curtailment of expenditure to that amount. This must be done, even if many offices of the government have to be abolished. We pay too much to office holders. Our government expends about eighty per cent. of the revenue for salaries and other expenditures that bring no return, and only about twenty per cent. for internal improvement. This state of affairs ought to be changed, so that we should pay only about twenty per cent. of our revenue for salaries, and the larger portion for much needed improvements and the upbuilding of the country by repopulation.

4. Repopulation!—this, O Hawaiians! is the great question for you to consider, to favor and to act upon. You, through your government, must act upon it, or you must die as a nation. You are even now too few to constitute an independent state qualified to hold diplomatic relations with other states. You Hawaiians numbered in 1872 about 49,000 souls, and as decay continues and not increase you probably do not number at this time more than 45,000 souls; and among this number not more than 5,000 able bodied men can be found. The whole Hawaiian nation could be transported in one ship, the *Great Eastern*, across the ocean; and therefore, you and we foreigners all included with you, are too small a number of people to be entitled to rank as an independent state, and would not be so recognized, were it not for the courtesy and permission of great states whose ships of war patrol the great ocean. And were it not for this recognized political existence of Hawaii, brought about by wise foreigners, advising your kings you would be subject to the dictation of any man-of-war that

entered the port of Honolulu, even like Samoa was recently when her chiefs and people were summoned before a tribunal to consider a claim for damages, which was set up in her port by the ship of war *Portsmouth*, and so be like that country without the protection of your own courts of law. This kingdom is indeed helpless by itself. We could not defend our capital of Honolulu, and our small commerce against the attack of any small piratical ship which should come against us with only a squad of men and half a dozen guns. We would be obliged to appeal to the first man-of-war that came along for protection. Therefore there is danger if this weakness of Hawaii should continue, and as is likely in view of your decline in numbers, it should become more and more debilitated; and we should have to appeal often to a man-of-war for help and the preservation of order, that our independence would be taken away, as a gift we could not preserve, and a foreign force be placed over us for our permanent protection.

This, Hawaiians, is not a dream, it is a real and imminent danger; therefore how silly is all the talk of demagogues who seek to be elected as representatives when they talk to you about the danger to the independence of the country on account of a proposed loan or a treaty or anything else of that kind. The real danger is owing to your decline down to a mere remnant of a tribe, so that your King and your country are almost left without dignity or adequate support. This decline of people and the question of repopulation should occupy your chief attention, and cause you to set all minor questions aside.

5. And now I will consider with you the causes and the remedies for this decline. The usual talk of the demagogue is that the presence of the white foreigner is connected with the decay of the red skinned native. But this statement is not true; and is disproven in many countries where the red and the white live prosperously together. It is not true in Java and the Moluccas from whence your forefathers came. There the red skins have increased from one million to many millions since the whites went to live among them, because the native people have become as orderly and industrious as the white foreigners. But it is apparently true, in part of America, where the red skin has been a ferocious savage in times past and has continued so to this day, not caring for any industry or law or order, and only bent upon war and destruction,—such savage people must cause their own destruction, like the lions of Africa or the tigers of Asia, if they will not listen to the voice of law and order which governs the world. But you have listened to wise teachers and legislators, and therefore you might expect to prosper and increase as the red people do in Java, the Moluccas, the Phillipines and in British India;—

and if you do not prosper there must be some cause of decay in your blood or in your situation.

Perhaps both these influences affect you. You need new blood. You should mingle with other races kindred to you, and become a reinvigorated people. You have been so long, so many ages isolated in the great ocean, and have so long inter bred and associated in your narrow isles under the destructive influences of a polluting heathenism, that your blood has become corrupt and weakened, and predisposed to receive and succumb to every new disease that comes to desolate your beautiful islands. The red people of Java do not suffer from foreign diseases any more, nay not so much as the foreigners, because the red people of Java have as healthy and as vigorous a constitution as the foreigners. And their vigor and increase is owing to their being a mixed people of kindred races, consisting of the ancient Jawi or Javanese stock of the Sundese, of Malays, and of Hindoos;—the latter having founded a great colony in Java, and constitute the bulk of the population of the island, which now numbers over 15,000,000 of red skins like you, and yet all are now called Javanese. And were these islands to gradually receive 50,000 Hindoos and other red races, kindred to the Hawaiian, the offsprings of these new people and of you native people would all be Hawaiians; and so your name and race would continue to possess this archipelago, even should you increase to 1,000,000 of souls.

Therefore why should you, O Hawaiians ! occupy and disturb your minds over questions about a loan, or a treaty, or even a succession to the Throne, which you cannot affect or change. Let your minds dwell upon your sad condition as a decaying remnant of a once numerous people. Listen not to the lying talk of those who tell you that it is the presence of the foreigner which causes your decline. Look to your sad disproportion of sex. The last census in 1872 showed that there are nearly seven thousand more males than females. Seven thousand men in a little community like this who cannot get wives ! Look at Hilo in a population of 4220, there are about one thousand men who must be without natural and lawful partners. And notice Koolaupoko on this island, where there are 1224 men and 804 women ! How in such a state of society can the men find helpmeets to increase and multiply as God commanded ? They do not find them ; but O, sorrow ! two and more men are content to live with mutual consent with one woman, under your miserable designation of *punaluas*, and there are no children ! No troops of children in Hawaii, and how can there be, when so many of your poor women are defiled and blighted with sterile wombs ! This is a woeful condition of your race,

—a condition which will not permit any hope of improvement in fecundity or morality; but it affords this hope, that it is a state of things which if properly represented to Christian nations like Great Britain, having the control of populations of a stock suited for your national physical recuperation, would strongly and effectually appeal to their enlightened and philanthropic spirit to induce them to grant to Hawaii every opportunity for increase of people which the demoralized and declining state of this country requires.

It may be asked, since I am not soliciting any office at your hands, as I surely am not, now; nor have done on any previous occasion, because if you were to thrust upon me the duties of a representative, one of my first acts would be to urge the doubling of the tax upon your worthless dogs and horses which you prize so much, even more than the life of your race; so it may be asked, I repeat, why do I come forward now to speak and to address you, and why do I concern myself to declare unto you Hawaiians such bitter things? Why? Because I am one of you, and with you, and this is my country. It is true I came from a great and glorious country, which I love, and ten thousand fold mightier than Hawaii; but I have found a home in this poor little land where I have lived and prospered for fifteen years. I have planted my stakes in the isles. I am not a transient gatherer of the good things of the land which I hope to spend elsewhere. I am one with Hawaii, and would seek my prosperity in her advancement; and I now appeal to you and your representatives that may be, in the cause of peace and order, and that you may turn your minds to your only question of national life. I do not feel that I honor the teachings and the political spirit of great America by coldly and indifferently looking upon your decay, or by hoping that you will become too weak and miserable to take care of yourselves, and have to be charitably taken care of under the tutelage of my father-land. No; not so do I understand the spirit of Columbia, the land of refuge of the poor and oppressed of all climes. I would have you become a valued ally of, and not a dependant beggar upon America. And if it should appear wise and needful to surrender at some future day, your political birth-right of independence, I would have the power with which you must unite, proud to take you, and proud of the acquisition of the Hawaiian Archipelago.

But I will not contemplate any surrender now, nor for many years to come. Neither America, nor any other nation wants to interfere with your national independence. They all want Hawaii to remain a neutral and prosperous little state, to be the especial refuge and recruiting station of the commerce of the world in the Pacific Ocean.

Therefore, O Hawaiians! listen not to demagogues who would dis-

turb your minds and alarm you in respect to the alledged designs against you, of America or any other foreign country. Listen not to discussions about treaties, ioans, or other things which you cannot change, and which do not vitally affect you. Listen not to the voices of politicians who cannot keep and who perhaps do not care to keep one promise that they make to you. Listen not to men who led some of you into trouble during the late riot, and who could not or would not help those they led away when the hour of danger and retribution came. But listen to a voice of love prompted solely by a care for your life and increase as a people. I ought to love you Hawaiians, though you are so poor and degraded, with your weakness and decay in the eyes of the world ; for to Hawaiians I owe my life. Yes,—there was a time when driven out to sea in an open boat, Hawaiians, who could have saved themselves by swimming through breakers, yet struggled during a dreadful night of toil and fear with agonizing thirst in order to save me. And again when I had gone down into the depths of the sea in your stormy channel of Molokai, a Hawaiian sprang for me and bore me up, and saved my life. Therefore, shall I not speak unto you and for you, and cry out in all love and earnestness of soul, when your race is dying, and your poor little ship of state is in the political breakers? I will, O Hawaiians! and I speak without fear or favor unto King and to people alike.

And thus I would speak unto your King. O, Chief! successor of the Great Kamehameha, and seated on the Hawaiian Throne ; though your state be small, and the least among the family of nations, yet your opportunity for renown as an illustrious ruler is as great, as if you governed millions of souls. Of you and of your government there will be expected by all thoughtful men of the civilized world some wise, patriotic, and faithfully pursued policy for the cherishing and increase of your people ; and that such policy will be held paramount to any other questions whether of trade or finance, or other particular interests of the country. And you, O people ! must strengthen the hands of your King with cheerful service and a zealous loyalty. And then you, united with true hearted and loyal foreigners, can all join together as a strong and harmoniously blended little community in the building up of Hawaii. We can with union and wise co-operation stop the prevailing wail of death with the voices of increasing people. We can with more women of chaste races to be found and got by the seeking, have more fruitful unions and gladden with marriages the land so saddened with funerals. We can make our lonely valleys resound joyously with the clamor of little children. We can enliven once more the now silent shores of Hawaii with a thronging

and a busy people. And then when an electric cable unites us to our neighboring continent, and to the rest of the world; and when the fleets of the Pacific rendezvous in our port of Honolulu, and the trafficking and traveling nations fill our marts with wealth gathered from all quarters of the globe,—then may little Hawaii the least, be one of the most blest of the family of nations; and being strong in her Christian, moral and enlightened attitude, sit royally as the Queen of the great ocean, and shine forth as a proud and redeemed state before an admiring world!

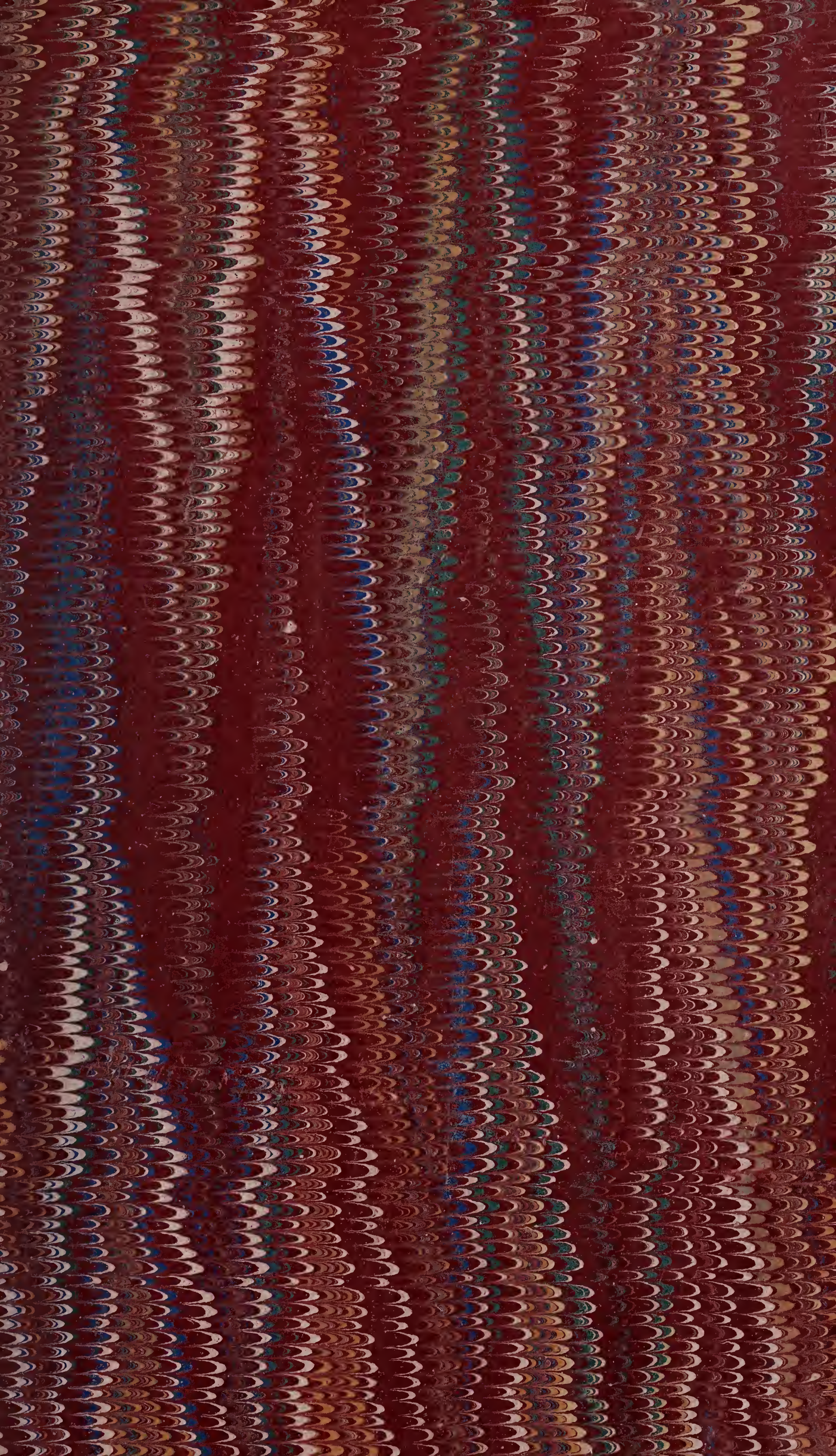
Your fellow Citizen,

Walter Murray Gibson.

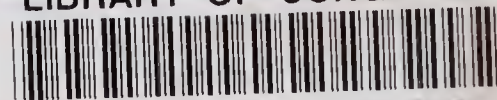
HONOLULU, January 31, 1876.







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